

The Philanthropist.

PUBLISHED BY THE EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE OF THE OHIO STATE ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY.

GAMALIEL BAILEY, Jr., Editor.

We are verily guilty concerning our brother therefore is this distress come upon us.

SAMUEL A. ALLEY, Printer.

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THE PHILANTHROPIST,

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THE PHILANTHROPIST.

EDITED BY G. BAILEY, JR.

CINCINNATI:

Tuesday Morning, December 25, 1838.

SOUTHERN PRINCIPLES.

We proceed with the publication of Harper's Memoir. They at the North, who have taxed their ingenuity to excuse slavery, would do well to read what follows. They will learn the real nature of the system, to which their countenance has been given. The learned Judge admits the truth of nearly all that Abolitionists had said about slavery, and then boldly attempts a justification. To save ourselves the trouble of many comments, we shall preface that part of the memoir published to-day, with a table of contents—as follows:

1. Judge Harper is in doubt whether the cause of humanity has been served by placing the MURDER OF A SLAVE ON THE SAME FOOTING WITH THAT OF A FREEMAN.
2. Slaves have a better security for life and limb, than freemen.
3. There have been fewer murders of slaves in the South, than of parents, children, apprentices, and other murders, cruel and unnatural, in societies where slavery does not exist.
4. Seeing the evils of the laboring classes in Europe and the thickly settled parts of our own country are so intolerable, he intimates strongly, that it would be better for them if they were slaves, held as property by masters, having a direct interest in preserving their lives, their health, and their strength.
5. The slaves are far less liable to cruel and brutal treatment from their masters, than are wives and children in other countries from their husbands and parents. Slavery, owing to the self-interest of the master and the deep affection he is apt to cherish for his slave, is an incomparably better security to the slave, than the conjugal relation is to the wife or the filial relation to the child.
6. It is true that the slave is driven to his labor by stripes, but stripes and blows are to him no degradation.
7. Slavery tends rather to humanize than brutalize.

Our readers will not expect us to argue at length against these positions. The simple statement of them is sufficient to disgust the mind of any man who is not fully bent on wrong-thinking and wrong-acting.

"That there are great evils in a society where slavery exists, and that the institution is liable to great abuse, I have already said. To say otherwise, would be to say that they were not human. But the whole of human life is a system of evils and compensations. We have no reason to believe that the compensations with us are fewer, or smaller in proportion to the evils, than those of any other condition of society. Tell me of an evil or abuse; of an instance of cruelty, oppression, licentiousness, crime or suffering, and I will point out, and often in five-fold degree, an equivalent evil or abuse in countries where slavery does not exist.

Let us examine without blenching, the actual and alleged evils of slavery, and the array of horrors which many suppose to be its universal concomitants. It is said that the slave is out of the protection of the law; that if the law purports to protect him in life and limb, it is but imperfectly executed; that he is still subjected to excessive labor, degrading blows, or any other sort of torture, which a master pampered and brutalized by the exercise of arbitrary power, may think proper to inflict; he is cut off from the opportunity of intellectual, moral, or religious improvement, and even positive enactments are directed against his acquiring the rudiments of knowledge; he is cut off forever from the hope of raising his condition in society, whatever may be his merit, talents, or virtues, and therefore deprived of the strongest incentive to useful and praiseworthy exertion; his physical degradation begets a corresponding moral degradation; he is without moral principle, and addicted to the lowest vices, particularly theft and falsehood; if marriage be not disallowed, it is little better than a state of concubinage, from which results general licentiousness, and the want of chastity among females—this indeed is not protected by law, but is subject to the outrages of brutal lust; both sexes are liable to have their dearest affections violated; to be sold like brutes; husbands to be torn from wives, children from parents—this is the picture commonly presented by the denouncers of slavery.

It is a somewhat singular fact, that when there existed in our state no law for punishing the murder of a slave, other than a pecuniary fine, there were, I will venture to say, at least ten murders of freemen, for one murder of a slave. Yet it is supposed they are less protected, or less secure than their masters. Why, they are protected by their very situation in society, and therefore less need the protection of law. With any other person than their master, it is hardly possible for them to come into such sort of collision as usually gives rise to furious and revengeful passions; they offer no temptation to the murderer for gain; against the master himself, they have the security of his own interest, and by his superintendence and authority, they are protected from the revengeful passions of each other. I am by no means sure that the cause of humanity has been served by the change in jurisprudence, which has placed their murder on the same footing with that of a freeman. The change was made in subservience to the opinions and clamor of others, who were utterly incompetent to form an opinion on the subject; and a wise act in

seldom the result of legislation in this spirit. From the fact which I have stated, it is plain that they less need protection. Juries are, therefore, less willing to convict, and it may sometimes happen that the guilty will escape all punishment. Security is one of the compensations of their humble position. We challenge the comparison, that with us there have been fewer murders of slaves, than of parents, children, apprentices, and other murders, cruel and unnatural, in societies where slavery does not exist.

But short of life or limb, various cruelties may be practised as the passions of the master may dictate. To this the same reply has been often given—that they are secured by the master's interest. If the state of slavery is to exist at all, the master must have, and ought to have, such power of punishment as will compel them to perform the duties of their station. And is not this for their advantage as well as his? No human being can be contented, who does not perform the duties of his station. Has the master any temptation to go beyond this? If he inflicts on him such punishment as will permanently impair his strength, he inflicts a loss on himself, and so if he requires of him excessive labor. Compare the labor required of the slave, with those of the free agricultural, or manufacturing laborer in Europe, or even in the more thickly peopled portions of the non-slave holding states of our confederacy—though these last are no fair subjects of comparison—their enjoying, as I have said, in a great degree, the advantages of slavery along with those of an early and simple state of society. Read the English parliamentary reports, on the condition of the manufacturing operatives, and the children employed in factories. And such is the impotence of man to remedy the evils which the condition of his existence has imposed on him, that it is much to be doubted whether the attempts by legislation to improve their situation, will not aggravate its evils. They resort to this excessive labor as a choice of evils. If so, the amount of their compensation will be lessened also with the diminished labor; for this is a matter which legislation cannot regulate. Is it the part of benevolence then to cut them off even from this miserable liberty of choice? Yet would these evils exist in the same degree, if the laborers were the property of the master—having a direct interest in preserving their lives, their health and strength? Who but a drivelling fanatic, has thought of the necessity of protecting domestic animals from the cruelty of their owners? And yet are not great and wanton cruelties practised on these animals? Compare the whole of the cruelties inflicted on slaves throughout our southern country, with those elsewhere, inflicted by ignorant and depraved portions of the community, or those whom the relations of society put into their power—of brutal husbands on their wives; of brutal parents—subduing against the strongest instincts of nature to that brutality by the extremity of their misery—on their children; of brutal masters on apprentices. And if it should be asked, are not similar cruelties inflicted, and miseries endured in your society? I answer in no comparable degree. The class in question are placed under the control of others, who are interested to restrain their excesses of cruelty or rage. Wives are protected from their husbands, and children from their parents. And this is no inconsiderable compensation of the evils of our system; and would so appear, if we could form any conception of the immense amount of misery which is elsewhere inflicted. The other class of society, more elevated in their position, are also (speaking of course in the general) more elevated in character, and more responsible to public opinion.

But besides the interest of their master, there is another security against cruelty. The relation of master and slave, when there is no mischievous interference between them, is, as the experience of all the world declares, naturally one of kindness. As to the fact, we should be field interested which is fair, and which has contributed to his convenience, his enjoyment, or his vanity? This is felt even toward animals, and inanimate objects. How much more toward a being of superior intelligence and usefulness, who can appreciate our feelings towards him, and return them? Is it not natural that we should be interested in that which is dependent on us for protection and support? Do not men everywhere contract kind feelings towards their dependants? Is it not natural that men should be more attached to those whom they have long known—whom, perhaps, they have reared or been associated with from infancy—than to one with whom their connexion has been casual and temporary? What is there in our atmosphere or institutions, to produce a perversion of the general feelings of nature? To be sure, in this as in all other relations, there is frequent cause of offence or excitement—on one side, for some omission of duty, on the other, on account of reproach or punishment inflicted. But this is common to the relation of parent and child; and I will venture to say that if punishment be justly inflicted—and there is no temptation to inflict it unjustly—it is as little likely to occasion permanent estrangement or resentment as in that case. Slaves are perpetual children. It is not the common nature of man, unless it be depraved by his own misery, to delight in witnessing pain. It is more grateful to behold contented and cheerful beings, than sullen and wretched ones. That men are sometimes wretched, depraved and brutal, we know. That atrocious and brutal cruelties have been perpetrated on slaves, and on those who were not slaves, by such wretches, we also know. But that the institution of slavery has a natural tendency to form such a character, that such crimes are more common, or more aggravated than in other states of society, or produce among us less surprise and horror, we utterly deny, and challenge the comparison. Indeed I have little hesitation in saying, that if full evidence could be obtained, the comparison would result in our favor, and that the tendency of slavery is rather to humanize than to brutalize.

The accounts of travellers in oriental countries, give a very favorable representation of the kindly relations which exist between the master and slave; the latter being often the friend, and sometimes the heir of the former. Generally, however, especially if they be English travellers—if they say any thing which may seem to give a favorable complexion to slavery, they think it necessary to enter their protest, that they shall not be taken to give any sanction to slavery as it exists in America. Yet human nature is the same in all countries. There are very obvious reasons why in those countries there should be a nearer approach to equality in their manners. The master and slave are often of cognate races, and therefore tend more to assimilate. There is in fact less inequality in mind and character, where the master is but imperfectly civilized. Less labor is exacted, because the master has fewer motives to accumulate. But is it an injury to a human being, that regular, if not excessive labor should be required of him? The primeval curse, with the usual benignity of providential contrivance, has been turned into the solace of an existence that would be much more intolerable without it. If they labor less, they are much more subject to the outrages of capricious passion. If it were put to the choice of any human being, or of a barbarian or semi-barbarian? But if the general tendency of the institution in those countries is to create kindly relations, can it be imagined why it should operate differently in this? It is true, as suggested by President Dewey—with the exception of the ties of close consanguinity, it forms one of the most intimate relations of society. And it will be more and more so, the longer it continues to exist. The harshest features of slavery were created by those who were strangers to slavery—those who supposed that it consisted in keeping savages in subjection by violence and terror. The severest laws to be found on our statute book, were enacted by such, and such are still found to be the severest masters. As society becomes settled, and the wandering habits of our countrymen altered, there will be a larger and larger proportion of those who were reared by the owner, or derived to him from his ancestors, and who therefore will be more and more intimately regarded, as forming a portion of his family.

It is true that the slave is driven to labor by stripes; and if the object of punishment be to produce obedience or reformation, with the least permanent injury, it is the best method of punishment. But is it not intolerable, that a being formed in the image of his Maker, should be degraded by blows? This is one of the perversions of mind and feeling, to which I shall have occasion again to refer. Such punishment would be degrading to a freeman, who had the thoughts and aspirations of a freeman. In general it is not degrading to a slave, nor is it felt to be so. "The evil is the bodily pain. Is it degrading to a child? Or if in any particular instance it would be so felt, it is sure not to be inflicted—unless in those rare cases which constitute the startling and eccentric evils, from which no society is exempt, and against which no institutions of society can provide."

"The criminal offence of assault and battery cannot at common law, be committed on the person of a slave." For, notwithstanding for some purposes a slave is regarded in law a person, yet generally he is a mere chattel personal, and his right of personal protection belongs to his master, who can maintain an action of trespass for the battery of his slave.

"There can be therefore no offence against the state for a mere beating of a slave, unaccompanied by any circumstances of cruelty, or an attempt to kill and murder. The peace of the state is not thereby broken; for a slave is not generally regarded as legally capable of being within the peace of the state. He is not a citizen, and is not in that character entitled to her protection."

Such is the decision of a Judge in a slave state, as reported in the Law of Slavery.

The master may commence an action of trespass for the battery of his slave, but the action cannot be sustained, unless the battery be attended by a loss of service. So that a slave may be beaten to any extent, short of causing loss of service to his master, and there is no redress, not even in his master's "right of protection." What personal security the slave has against his master may be inferred from the decision of Judge Rufin of N. Carolina, in the case of the "State v. Man."

The defendant was indicted for an assault and battery upon Lydia, the slave of one Elizabeth Jones. She had hired the slave for a year, and for some small offence took to chastise her. While in the act of so doing, the slave ran off; defendant called on her to stop, and on her refusing, shot and wounded her. "The Judge in the court below charged the jury, that if they believed the punishment inflicted by the defendant was cruel and unwarrantable, and disproportionate to the offence committed by the slave, that in law the defendant was guilty, as he had only a special property in the slave. A verdict was returned for the State, and the defendant appealed."

The case being thus brought before a higher tribunal, Judge Rufin decided that the person hiring a slave, having possession and command of him, was entitled to the same degree of authority over him as his master. Upon the general question, whether the owner is answerable criminally, for a battery upon his own slave, or other exercise of authority or force not forbidden by statute, the court entertained but little doubt. That he was so liable had never been decided; nor, so far as known, been at any time contended. There had been "no prosecution of the sort." "The power of the master must be absolute to render the submission of the slave perfect." It would not do to "allow the right of the master to be brought into discussion in the courts of justice."

"The slave, to remain a slave, must be made sensible that there is no appeal from his master."

Such are the prominent points in Judge Rufin's opinion, Judgment below reversed; and judgment entered for the defendant.

Such is the boasted security of the slave.—E. P. HIL.

Remarks by the Editor of the Philanthropist.

Notwithstanding our intention as expressed in the remarks, prefatory to this article: we cannot forbear a few comments.

Let us examine the securities which Judge Harper fancies so efficient for the protection of the slave.

1. They are protected by their "situation in society." "With any other person than their master, it is hardly possible for them to come into such sort of collision as usually gives rise to furious and revengeful passions."

Judge Harper must have calculated largely on the credulity of northern people, when he ventured on such a statement. Would he have us to forget that the slaves are perpetually brought into contact with as vile, reckless, polluted, and vindictive a class of beings, as disgraces God's earth, under such circumstances too as must necessarily excite the most ferocious passions, and favor their most revolting exhibitions?

But in addition to their daily collisions with overseers, the slaves are exposed to the brutality of a certain class of abandoned white men, whose infamous courses of life exclude them from the society of persons of their own color. Chief Justice Taylor of N. Carolina, in delivering an opinion said—"These offences (abuse of slaves,

beating them &c.) are usually committed by men of dissolute habits, hanging loose on society, who, being repelled from association with well-disposed citizens, take refuge in the company of colored persons and slaves, whom they deprave by their example, embolden by their familiarity, and then beat, under the expectation that a slave dare not resent a blow from a white man."

2. "Against the master himself, they have the security of his own interest." Self-interest never made a man humane. But conceding that it furnishes some security to the slave, how far will it operate! It may to a certain extent protect his life, and prevent the infliction of such injury as shall disqualify him for service. Further than this its action cannot extend. It can be no bar to excessive whipping, beating, and the perpetration of nameless cruelties, which degrade and torture, without incapacitating for hard labor. But it is not even a sufficient security against more destructive violence. When passion is up, blind, tumultuous, raging passion, what can self-interest do? A furious man never stops to calculate profit and loss; even the strongest of all selfish feelings, love for his own life, will scarcely bind his passion; much less the petty consideration of dollars and cents. Judge Harper, in insisting so much on the protective power of the self-interest of the master, betrays a superficial knowledge of human nature.

3. He talks poetically about the affection masters naturally conceive for their slaves; and this affection is assumed to be a safeguard to their "property." "Is it not natural," he asks, "that a man should be attached to that which is his own, and which has contributed to his convenience, his enjoyment, or his vanity?" "Do not men everywhere contract kind feelings towards their dependants?" "Is it not natural that men should be more attached to those whom they have long known—whom perhaps, they have reared or been associated with from infancy—than to one with whom their connection has been casual and temporary?" "What is there in our atmosphere or institutions to produce a perversion of the general feelings of nature?"

Much every way.

It is a law of human nature that love, should gather fresh strength from the very acts of kindness to which it leads. We feel as if we had a treasure laid up in one, whom we have frequently benefited, or on whom we have conferred tokens of our affection. The beloved object derives a new claim upon us, from each additional display of our regard for his welfare. And the reverse is no less true. We dislike that which we consciously injure; and our dislike increases with the repetition of the injuries we inflict. Our malignant feelings delight in dwelling on the bad qualities of the wronged object, and to appease our conscience we tax our ingenuity to discover something in it which may palliate, if not justify our injustice. In obedience to these principles, it may be laid down as a general rule, that the slave-holder does not love his slaves. Generally, he is conscious that he is habitually and intentionally inflicting upon them a wrong, of the most aggravated character, and it is therefore impossible for him to conceive that affection for them; which is apt to grow out of such a relation of superior and inferior, as is productive of the good of both parties—not of the good of the former, at the expense of the best interests of the latter.

In addition to this we remark, that no man can feel a real affection for an intelligent being, that passively endures wrong treatment at his hands, and suffers himself to be utterly degraded without a single struggle. The slave-holder's contempt for his slave is too strong to allow him to entertain any true regard for his person.

Again—he, who can rob a fellow man of his liberty, convert him into a mere chattel, and to the extent of his power, destroy all those attributes which distinguish men from brutes, disqualifies himself for judging what cruelty really is. He cannot see what cruelty there is in passing sentence of death on the mind of his slave; in cutting him off from all hope in this world, and all correct views of the world to come; in laying an iron hand on the immortal soul, on whose nature God has impressed the law of eternal progress, and compelling it to stand still, and in breaking up with ruthless hand the most tender relations which the Creator has ordained for the consolation, purification and elevation of human nature. We think that stripes on the back of a full grown man, or the delicate form of woman, are cruel and degrading. The slaveholder does not. We think that to take away a child from his parents, or to scatter the members of a family to the four winds of heaven, so that they shall never see each other's face again, is inhuman. The slaveholder does not. And why? Because having made brutes out of men, he can see no cruelty in treating men like brutes. The slave "is also liable to be separated from wife or child," says Judge Harper, "but from native character and temperament, the separation is much less severely felt." This is the cold apology of the defender of eternal slavery for one of the most horrid acts of cruelty, of which the human mind can conceive.

The learned Judge overlooked another circumstance. The slaveholder holds his "property" by the tenure of force—a tenure at all times uncertain, but at this period peculiarly frail and insecure. Hence his life is a life of suspicion and apprehension. To one who understands how unfavorable are these feelings to the growth of kindly affections, how strong are their tendencies to harden the human heart, and diffuse through the entire man the poison of intense selfishness, we need not explain

in what way this peculiarity in slave-holding "institutions," operates "to produce a perversion of the general feelings of nature."

Another circumstance that is apt to bring down cruel inflictions on the head of the slave, is the nature of the provocations growing out of this unnatural relation. We all know what power there is in intention—how it modifies our judgment of actions—how intensely it aggravates our feelings, where an offence is committed. Against the horse that kicks him, a man may experience a transient resentment, which passes away however, with the temporary illusion that led him to attribute accountability to the brute. But an offence from a man like himself, rankles in his soul, strikes harshly a deeper chord. The thought that intention gave birth to the offensive act, confers intensity and permanency on the resentment it has awakened. Now suppose the offender placed almost absolutely at his mercy, with scarcely a legal safeguard about him, what can be looked for but a most terrible act of revenge? Precisely such is the condition of the slave. The provocations he gives to the overseer or master are such as a rational and accountable being alone is capable of; and the punishment they invoke is such only as the most terrible passions of the human heart can inflict.

Finally,—man is so curiously and delicately wrought, that it is impossible to rule him by a single motive, and that addressed to the lowest feeling of his nature, without committing most unnatural violence against him. The human will is a wonderfully mysterious power. The amount of fear required to overcome it and bring it into a state of passive submission, must be so vast as necessarily to disorder and confound all the other powers of the mind. Has any one ever calculated how much motive of this kind must be brought to bear on the slave, every hour of his fearful life, to secure his blind, unresisting submission to the will of another? God has not given to a horse the sense of right—he knows nothing of his own nature—he has no aspirations after a better state. His love of liberty is soon tamed, labor and the narrow stall harmonize with all his instincts, and he obeys the whip without reluctance. But man, immortal, intelligent man—how will you tame his will to such brutish obedience? The force adequate to such a task, must be horrible cruelty. The slave must feel that resistance would be death, ere he can consent to be a slave. Hence, the essential principle of the government over slaves, is Terror. This is the testimony of slave-holders themselves. If this be not cruelty, there can be no cruelty.

One word in conclusion. We charge not cruelty on all slave-holders. We speak of the tendencies of the "institution" they so zealously cherish and defend. Our position is, that these tendencies unquestionably are, to blunt the gentler sensibilities of the masters, inflame his malignant passions, and subject slaves to great cruelties. But this does not prevent us from believing that there are many slave-holders who, so far as the personal comforts of the slave are concerned, are distinguished by their humanity and mercy. Their very virtues however are perhaps productive of more mischief than the cruelties of the inhuman, inasmuch as they tend to throw a veil over the inherent enormities of the slavery-relation, and thus delay the hour of its doom.

ECCLÉSIASTICAL ACTION.

The Illinois Methodist Protestant Conference, at its third annual session, held in Sept. 6th, 1838, in St. Clair County, passed the following resolutions on slavery:

Resolutions concerning Slave-holding.

Whereas the Declaration of American Independence, formed by the patriots of 1776, asserts that all men are born free and equal, possessing certain inalienable rights, among which are Life, Liberty, and the pursuit of Happiness; and whereas the Gospel of Jesus Christ, the highest authority among men, says to its votaries, "Do ye unto all men as ye would they should do unto you;" and whereas the Methodist Protestant Church holds, as one of her elementary principles, that "every man has an inalienable right to private judgment in matters of religion; and an equal right to express his opinion, in any way which will not violate the laws of God, or the rights of his fellow-men."

And whereas ministers and churches who countenance slaveholding as it exists in these United States, thereby present an influence, the tendency of which is to overthrow the above principles, and sustain iniquity—therefore,

1. Resolved, That the holding of men, women and children in bondage from generation to generation, is condemned by the laws of God, the principles of humanity, and the above named Declaration;

2. Resolved, That the attempts made by certain divines to amalgamate the pure principles of Christianity with the unrighteous and unjustifiable system of slavery, are altogether inconsistent with the character of the Christian Ministry;

3. Resolved, That the great safeguard of the Christian church is the propagation and firm maintenance of Christian holiness;

4. Resolved, That the sacred and endearing interests of the church cannot be in the least endangered by maintaining the principles of righteousness;

5. Resolved, That, in the opinion of this Conference, while the light of the Gospel shines, the characters of philanthropist, christian, and slaveholder in heart, cannot meet in the same person.

A SLAVE IN SEARCH OF HIS WIFE.

We cut the following advertisement from a Southern paper:

RAN AWAY from the subscriber on Saturday night the 10th inst., a yellow negro, man named ADAM. He is about six feet high and proportionably built; he has a scar on his upper lip, caused by the kick of a horse; had on an overcoat of light colored coarse cloth, and a drab colored hat. It is probable that he will endeavor to get to Mobile, as he has a wife there belonging (as I am informed) to Mr. Henry Leazus of Mobile. Any person who will apprehend and confine him in any jail so I can recover him, will be rewarded by

Perry county, Nov. 17, 1838. CHARLES CROW.

beating them &c.) are usually committed by men of dissolute habits, hanging loose on society, who, being repelled from association with well-disposed citizens, take refuge in the company of colored persons and slaves, whom they deprave by their example, embolden by their familiarity, and then beat, under the expectation that a slave dare not resent a blow from a white man."

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The learned Judge overlooked another circumstance. The slaveholder holds his "property" by the tenure of force—a tenure at all times uncertain, but at this period peculiarly frail and insecure. Hence his life is a life of suspicion and apprehension. To one who understands how unfavorable are these feelings to the growth of kindly affections, how strong are their tendencies to harden the human heart, and diffuse through the entire man the poison of intense selfishness, we need not explain

in what way this peculiarity in slave-holding "institutions," operates "to produce a perversion of the general feelings of nature."

Another circumstance that is apt to bring down cruel inflictions on the head of the slave, is the nature of the provocations growing out of this unnatural relation. We all know what power there is in intention—how it modifies our judgment of actions—how intensely it aggravates our feelings, where an offence is committed. Against the horse that kicks him, a man may experience a transient resentment, which passes away however, with the temporary illusion that led him to attribute accountability to the brute. But an offence from a man like himself, rankles in his soul, strikes harshly a deeper chord. The thought that intention gave birth to the offensive act, confers intensity and permanency on the resentment it has awakened. Now suppose the offender placed almost absolutely at his mercy, with scarcely a legal safeguard about him, what can be looked for but a most terrible act of revenge? Precisely such is the condition of the slave. The provocations he gives to the overseer or master are such as a rational and accountable being alone is capable of; and the punishment they invoke is such only as the most terrible passions of the human heart can inflict.

Finally,—man is so curiously and delicately wrought, that it is impossible to rule him by a single motive, and that addressed to the lowest feeling of his nature, without committing most unnatural violence against him. The human will is a wonderfully mysterious power. The amount of fear required to overcome it and bring it into a state of passive submission, must be so vast as necessarily to disorder and confound all the other powers of the mind. Has any one ever calculated how much motive of this kind must be brought to bear on the slave, every hour of his fearful life, to secure his blind, unresisting submission to the will of another? God has not given to a horse the sense of right—he knows nothing of his own nature—he has no aspirations after a better state. His love of liberty is soon tamed, labor and the narrow stall harmonize with all his instincts, and he obeys the whip without reluctance. But man, immortal, intelligent man—how will you tame his will to such brutish obedience? The force adequate to such a task, must be horrible cruelty. The slave must feel that resistance would be death, ere he can consent to be a slave. Hence, the essential principle of the government over slaves, is Terror. This is the testimony of slave-holders themselves. If this be not cruelty, there can be no cruelty.

One word in conclusion. We charge not cruelty on all slave-holders. We speak of the tendencies of the "institution" they so zealously cherish and defend. Our position is, that these tendencies unquestionably are, to blunt the gentler sensibilities of the masters, inflame his malignant passions, and subject slaves to great cruelties. But this does not prevent us from believing that there are many slave-holders who, so far as the personal comforts of the slave are concerned, are distinguished by their humanity and mercy. Their very virtues however are perhaps productive of more mischief than the cruelties of the inhuman, inasmuch as they tend to throw a veil over the inherent enormities of the slavery-relation, and thus delay the hour of its doom.

ECCLÉSIASTICAL ACTION.

The Illinois Methodist Protestant Conference, at its third annual session, held in Sept. 6th, 1838, in St. Clair County, passed the following resolutions on slavery:

Resolutions concerning Slave-holding.

Whereas the Declaration of American Independence, formed by the patriots of 1776, asserts that all men are born free and equal, possessing certain inalienable rights, among which are Life, Liberty, and the pursuit of Happiness; and whereas the Gospel of Jesus Christ, the highest authority among men, says to its votaries, "Do ye unto all men as ye would they should do unto you;" and whereas the Methodist Protestant Church holds, as one of her elementary principles, that "every man has an inalienable right to private judgment in matters of religion; and an equal right to express his opinion, in any way which will not violate the laws of God, or the rights of his fellow-men."

And whereas ministers and churches who countenance slaveholding as it exists in these United States, thereby present an influence, the tendency of which is to overthrow the above principles, and sustain iniquity—therefore,

1. Resolved, That the holding of men, women and children in bondage from generation to generation, is condemned by the laws of God, the principles of humanity, and the above named Declaration;

2. Resolved, That the attempts made by certain divines to amalgamate the pure principles of Christianity with the unrighteous and unjustifiable system of slavery, are altogether inconsistent with the character of the Christian Ministry;

3. Resolved, That the great safeguard of the Christian church is the propagation and firm maintenance of Christian holiness;

4. Resolved, That the sacred and endearing interests of the church cannot be in the least endangered by maintaining the principles of righteousness;

5. Resolved, That, in the opinion of this Conference, while the light of the Gospel shines, the characters of philanthropist, christian, and slaveholder in heart, cannot meet in the same person.

A SLAVE IN SEARCH OF HIS WIFE.

We cut the following advertisement from a Southern paper:

RAN AWAY from the subscriber on Saturday night the 10th inst., a yellow negro, man named ADAM. He is about six feet high and proportionably built; he has a scar on his upper lip, caused by the kick of a horse; had on an overcoat of light colored coarse cloth, and a drab colored hat. It is probable that he will endeavor to get to Mobile, as he has a wife there belonging (as I am informed) to Mr. Henry Leazus of Mobile. Any person who will apprehend and confine him in any jail so I can recover him, will be rewarded by

Perry county, Nov. 17, 1838. CHARLES CROW.

beating them &c.) are usually committed by men of dissolute habits, hanging loose on society, who, being repelled from association with well-disposed citizens, take refuge in the company of colored persons and slaves, whom they deprave by their example, embolden by their familiarity, and then beat, under the expectation that a slave dare not resent a blow from a white man."

2. "Against the master himself, they have the security of his own interest." Self-interest never made a

MISCELLANEOUS.

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It may be known when the worms are about to cast their skins, as they cease to eat, and remain stationary, with their heads raised, and occasionally shaking them. This operation will be more distinctly observed as they increase in size through the succeeding ages.

Assuming the above temperature as the standard, the quantity of leaves for the three first days of this age, must be gradually increased at each feeding, after which they will require less at each succeeding meal, until the time of moulting arrives. When for about thirty six hours, they eat nothing. But as it is seldom the case, that they all cast their skins at one and the same time, some will still be disposed to eat, when a few leaves must be cut fine and sparingly scattered over them, so that those that remain torpid be disturbed as little as possible.

This rule for feeding will apply to each succeeding age, but the term of the increase, in the quantity of leaves for each day will be in proportion to the length of the age.

After having gone through the cocoonary and furnished all the worms with a quantity of leaves, it will go to through a second and sometimes a third time, and add more where the worms lay thick and the leaves appear to be most eaten. Very young and tender leaves must be given the worms during the first age, after which older ones can be given, as they advance in age, until after the last moulting when they should be fed upon sound full grown leaves; I usually, take a hand full with a large knife cut them both ways, leaving the pieces about a quarter or half inch square, until after the third age when they are then fed whole. In large establishments a cutting machine would be found useful.

The worms will frequently heap together and become too thick, and as they increase in size, when they are fed, the leaves must be spread, the space occupied enlarged; should they then in places remain too thick, leaves a little wilted should be laid on them, which will soon be covered by the worms when they may be removed to places unoccupied. They must never be allowed to crowd too thick together as this will tend to close the spiracles or breathing holes, and respiration becomes difficult, and disease will be the consequence.

Near Brandesburg, Ky., Oct. 1838.

H. P. BYRUM.

DIALOGUE ON HOGS.—"Friend," said a shrewd quaker, to a man with a drove of hogs—"Hast any hogs in this drove with large bones?" "Yes," replied the drover, "they all have." "Hast any with long heads and sharp noses?" "Yes all have." "Hast any with long ears like those of the elephant, hanging down over his eyes?" "Yes, all my drove are of that description, and will suit you exactly." "I rather think they would not suit me, friend, if they are such as thou descriest them. Thou may'st drive on."

Suffer not your spirit to be subdued by misfortunes; but, on the contrary, steer right onward, with a courage greater than your fate seems to allow.

John Quincy Adams.

Washington Correspondence of the New York Express.

The most prominent man in this assembly is JOHN QUINCY ADAMS. To him all eyes were turned upon his entrance into the Representatives Hall—a feeling of awe and respect was seen upon the countenance of all who saw the venerable old man. The past was plainly forgotten, obliterated, at least in all its exciting and disagreeable associations. The Southern members of both parties who had broken many a lance with the old man, and who, I predict, will again wage many a fierce conflict with him, greeted him warmly and affectionately with their whole hearts. "The truth is, the son of old John Adams must and ever will receive the unqualified respect of his countrymen, and when that son stands forth as John Quincy Adams, the man upon whom has been bestowed both by the American People, at home and abroad, more deserving public honors than were ever conferred upon any other man in the nation,—that respect will be changed to admiration. Men may differ with Mr. Adams as they please upon measures of public policy,—they may call his settled sincerity of purpose fanaticism,—they may scoff at his stern conviction of duty,—they may hold up to ridicule the intensity of feelings, sometimes manifested by him upon matters of little moment,—they may question,—and sum up all as the result of a monomania or a second childhood, or downright madness,—yet in spite of all that the angry passions of men have done,—the time has come when, every one who has either insulted or rebuked the wise and venerated Statesman, has been heartily ashamed of his folly, and when, as he would have given up his own fair fame sooner than to have questioned the honor of his better companion, Mr. Adams is the Nestor and the Ulysses of the House,—the oldest man and the wisest man in it. He has all the attributes,—save perhaps that great grandeur of mind,—which Homer gives to Nestor as the King of Pylos and Messenia,—all the justice, wisdom, eloquence and address that distinguished the King among the Grecian Chiefs. Like Ulysses he has seen the world thoroughly and gained something of almost tongue every and kindred upon the face of the earth.

Age and rank are not as many may think the secrets of Mr. Adams's power,—or the sole reason why he is respected and exalted. All around him, there are men as aged nearly as himself, and the rank he holds, is held in common with the two hundred and forty Representatives associated with him. Neither is it a fact that he was once the Executive of the United States,—although his power then to have questioned the honor of his better companion, Mr. Adams is the Nestor and the Ulysses of the House,—the oldest man and the wisest man in it. He has all the attributes,—save perhaps that great grandeur of mind,—which Homer gives to Nestor as the King of Pylos and Messenia,—all the justice, wisdom, eloquence and address that distinguished the King among the Grecian Chiefs. Like Ulysses he has seen the world thoroughly and gained something of almost tongue every and kindred upon the face of the earth.

As soon as the worms make their appearance, they should be supplied with young leaves, cut in narrow strips and laid over the papers, to which they will readily attach themselves, they should then be transferred to other small boxes, or the shelves, they should then be fed four times a day (24 hours) as near as possible at regular and stated periods with young and tender leaves, cut small and strewn over them.

The leaves should never be given the worms while wet, either with dew or rains; an excess of moisture in any form, even the natural juices of the leaf if grown on a low, rich soil will often produce fatal diseases, among silk worms; hence the importance of planting the trees on dry and rather poor soil. The leaves for the morning feed, should be gathered the evening previous; they should not be pressed too compact together, lest sweating or fermentation should take place. If there is a prospect of rainy weather, a supply of leaves should be kept in reserve, particularly in the last ages of the worms, when they eat most voraciously. Should it occur that a supply of dry leaves are not on hand, they may be gathered and dried by spreading them on the floor of the room or shed, and frequently stirred and shook up with effects or wooden forks.

It will be impossible to lay down any definite rules for the quantity of leaves necessary for any given number, for each succeeding day, through every age of the worms. After a little acquaintance with their nature and habits, the intelligence and judgment of the attendant, will be found the best guide; they should however have as much as they will eat; but after a few days, care should be taken not to give them more than they will generally consume, as this will increase the accumulation of filth, which will endanger the health of the worms.

Count Dandolo had given the quantity of leaves by weight, necessary for the daily allowance of the worms, while in their artificial climate, (if I may so call it) by a constant use of stoves, fire places and ventilators, the temperature of the laboratory is seldom allowed to vary by the thermometer beyond the 75th and 88 deg., and by this means the days of the worms "are numbered" to about thirty two, and the necessary quantity of food can nearly be given.

My first crop of worms, of the common grey variety, the past season, began to hatch on the 5th day of May, about which time there was a change of weather, when the thermometer for several mornings stood at 30 deg.; in consequence of this change it was forty days before the worms began to spin. During the last ages the thermometer ranged from 70 to 90 deg., making a difference of 20 deg. of temperature during the season of feeding the worms, without perceptibly affecting the quality or quantity of silk. Yet it is well if possible to employ means to guard against these sudden transitions from heat to cold, particularly should they occur during the times of moulting, or when the worms are about to spin, which will then prove injurious.

A second crop of the same variety was hatched on the 18th, 19th and 20th days of July, and began to wind their cocoons in twenty three days, and those of another variety, at the same time, in twenty one days, the thermometer ranging from 70 to 95 deg., and in one instance it rose to 99 deg.; the cocoons produced, were equal in quality to those of the former crop; 240 of which the average size weighed a pound of sixteen ounces.

When the average range of the thermometer is about 70 or 75 deg., the several moultings will take place near the 5th, 9th, 15th and 22d days.

churches, and promising to give preference, support and countenance to such steam-boats, railroads and stages as will be persons of color their privileges, rights and conveniences as American citizens,—advising that immediate measures be taken for carrying the Library system into effect throughout the State,—and defining the "limitations of human responsibility" as stretched out, commensurate with the wide extent of human power and opportunity.

ADVERTISEMENTS.

TO PURCHASERS OF REAL ESTATE.

A Farm of 80 acres, situated near to the McAdams road, six miles from town, with 60 acres in cultivation, a frame house having four rooms and a cellar; also a frame barn 56 by 40 feet, a log house and a garden with 15 to 20 fruit trees. The land is rolling, fertile, and well-watered with springs.

A fertile Farm of 63 acres, situated in a healthy region, eight miles from town, well calculated for a Country Seat, having 38 acres in cultivation, an excellent well finished brick house with 8 rooms, a hall, a cellar, and a porch; also a commodious one and a half story house; like-wise a carriage house, a brick smoke house, a two story log house, an excellent garden with every variety of choice shrubs, fruit trees and vines; also a paddock with many guinea, plum, peach and other fruit trees; and a large apple orchard with natural and choice grafted trees. The land is favorably situated for culture, is well watered with springs and wells. The neighborhood is respectable and healthy.

A Farm of 80 acres, situated six miles from town, upon the Ohio, having 40 acres in tillage, a small orchard, a log house and many springs. The soil is rich and consists of upland and bottom land. It is eligible for a Country Seat, having good building sites, and delightful views of the river and the Kentucky hills.

A good Farm of 200 acres, situated 1 mile from the Ohio and 78 from town, having 100 acres in cultivation, an extensive orchard, several barns and many springs. The land is fair quality and very well located for cultivation.

A desirable Farm of 166 acres, situated 10 miles from town upon a road, having 100 acres in culture, a good frame house with 14 rooms and a cellar; also an extensive frame barn, a frame cow house 60 feet long, and lumber, smoke, wagon and carriage houses; like-wise a brick house, a well, a large building site, and a large orchard of choice apple, pear and peach trees. The land is fair quality, situated favorably for tillage, and abounds in stone, water and valuable timber.

A fertile Farm of 160 acres, situated in Indiana 44 miles from Cincinnati, having 80 acres in cultivation, an excellent orchard of choice fruit trees, a large house, a well, a large barn, a carriage house, a large orchard of choice apple, pear and peach trees, and a large orchard of apple, cherry and peach trees. The land is level, and the neighborhood healthy.

A desirable Farm of 270 acres, situated 5 miles from town upon a good road, having 200 acres in cultivation, an orchard of choice fruit trees, apple, peach, pear, and plum; also a garden well enclosed, having strawberry and asparagus beds; like-wise a frame house, with 3 rooms; also a brick milk house with two beds, a commodious frame barn, a brick smoke house, and frame stables and cow houses.—The land is rich and fertile, and well watered with springs, a very good farm, and well calculated for a country seat, or dairy, nursery, and market garden purposes.

A Country Seat, with 32 acres of land, situated upon a road, 4 miles from town, with 20 acres in cultivation, a frame house having 7 rooms, a cellar and two porches; also a frame barn, a carriage house, a large orchard of choice apple, pear and cherry trees. The land is chiefly in meadow, is rich and rolling.

A good Farm of 70 acres, situated 8 miles from town, near to a McAdams road, having 45 acres in cultivation, an orchard of choice fruit trees, a large house, a well, a large barn, a carriage house, a large orchard of choice apple, pear and peach trees, and a large orchard of apple, cherry and peach trees. The land is level, and the neighborhood healthy.

240 acres of very good land well located for cultivation, situated 24 miles from town, with 150 acres in culture, an orchard of 7 to 8 acres of choice grafted fruit trees, a frame house having 5 rooms in a cellar; also a commodious frame barn, two wells and many springs. The farm is in excellent condition.

A farm of 112 acres, situated upon a good road, 7 miles from town, having 40 acres in tillage, a frame house with 5 rooms, a cellar and two porches; also a frame barn, a well and a nursery of peach and apple trees; like-wise bearing cherry, peach, raspberry and currant trees. The land is rich, and generally rolling.

A fertile Farm of 180 acres, situated 18 miles from town, and 3 from the Ohio river, having 90 acres in cultivation, a stone house, 40 by 20 feet, with 4 rooms, a hall, and a cellar; also a two story stone house, 34 by 20 feet, and several tan pits; like-wise a saw-mill, a frame barn, 50 by 30 feet, and an orchard of 3 acres of choice apple, pear and peach trees. The land is rich, rolling, and well watered with springs and creeks.

A desirable Stock Farm of 420 acres, situated upon a turnpike, 28 miles from Lawrenceburg, and 50 from Cincinnati, with 150 acres in cultivation, (chiefly in meadow) orchard of 4 acres of grafted apple trees, a cider mill and a press; also a frame house having 4 rooms and a porch; like-wise a commodious frame barn; also a large log barn, and a new frame shop. The land is eligible situated for culture, and first rate property for hay. It is a fine grazing farm. It will be sold at a low rate upon favorable terms.

Very many other FARMS and COUNTRY SEATS for sale. Also, several small tracts without buildings, a few miles from the city.

Eligible HOUSES in various parts of the City for sale. Citizens and Emigrants are invited to call for full information, which will be given gratis. If by letter, postage paid. Capitalists can obtain 10 per cent interest upon mortgage, or the best personal security at long periods; or 6 per cent at 10 days sight.

Persons desirous of receiving money from England Wales Ireland, Scotland, and other parts of Europe, can have the cash paid them in Cincinnati, as soon as the payment is advised by the European Bankers of Exchange, Gold, and Bank of England notes bought and sold.

Farmers and Citizens wishing to dispose of their estates will incur no expense unless sales be effected.

The views of poor Emigrants without cost.

Apply to THOMAS EMERY, Estate and Money Agent, Fourth St. East of Main.

TO PURCHASERS OF REAL ESTATE.

A Farm of 80 acres, situated near to the McAdams road, six miles from town, with 60 acres in cultivation, a frame house having four rooms and a cellar; also a frame barn 56 by 40 feet, a log house and a garden with 15 to 20 fruit trees. The land is rolling, fertile, and well-watered with springs.

A fertile Farm of 63 acres, situated in a healthy region, eight miles from town, well calculated for a Country Seat, having 38 acres in cultivation, an excellent well finished brick house with 8 rooms, a hall, a cellar, and a porch; also a commodious one and a half story house; like-wise a carriage house, a brick smoke house, a two story log house, an excellent garden with every variety of choice shrubs, fruit trees and vines; also a paddock with many guinea, plum, peach and other fruit trees; and a large apple orchard with natural and choice grafted trees. The land is favorably situated for culture, is well watered with springs and wells. The neighborhood is respectable and healthy.

A Farm of 80 acres, situated six miles from town, upon the Ohio, having 40 acres in tillage, a small orchard, a log house and many springs. The soil is rich and consists of upland and bottom land. It is eligible for a Country Seat, having good building sites, and delightful views of the river and the Kentucky hills.

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A fertile Farm of 63 acres, situated in a healthy region, eight miles from town, well calculated for a Country Seat, having 38 acres in cultivation, an excellent well finished brick house with 8 rooms, a hall, a cellar, and a porch; also a commodious one and a half story house; like-wise a carriage house, a brick smoke house, a two story log house, an excellent garden with every variety of choice shrubs, fruit trees and vines; also a paddock with many guinea, plum, peach and other fruit trees; and a large apple orchard with natural and choice grafted trees. The land is favorably situated for culture, is well watered with springs and wells. The neighborhood is respectable and healthy.

A Farm of 80 acres, situated six miles from town, upon the Ohio, having 40 acres in tillage, a small orchard, a log house and many springs. The soil is rich and consists of upland and bottom land. It is eligible for a Country Seat, having good building sites, and delightful views of the river and the Kentucky hills.

A good Farm of 200 acres, situated 1 mile from the Ohio and 78 from town, having 100 acres in cultivation, an extensive orchard, several barns and many springs. The land is fair quality and very well located for cultivation.

A desirable Farm of 166 acres, situated 10 miles from town upon a road, having 100 acres in culture, a good frame house with 14 rooms and a cellar; also an extensive frame barn, a frame cow house 60 feet long, and lumber, smoke, wagon and carriage houses; like-wise a brick house, a well, a large building site, and a large orchard of choice apple, pear and peach trees. The land is fair quality, situated favorably for tillage, and abounds in stone, water and valuable timber.

A fertile Farm of 160 acres, situated in Indiana 44 miles from Cincinnati, having 80 acres in cultivation, an excellent orchard of choice fruit trees, a large house, a well, a large barn, a carriage house, a large orchard of choice apple, pear and peach trees, and a large orchard of apple, cherry and peach trees. The land is level, and the neighborhood healthy.

A desirable Farm of 270 acres, situated 5 miles from town upon a good road, having 200 acres in cultivation, an orchard of choice fruit trees, apple, peach, pear, and plum; also a garden well enclosed, having strawberry and asparagus beds; like-wise a frame house, with 3 rooms; also a brick milk house with two beds, a commodious frame barn, a brick smoke house, and frame stables and cow houses.—The land is rich and fertile, and well watered with springs, a very good farm, and well calculated for a country seat, or dairy, nursery, and market garden purposes.

A Country Seat, with 32 acres of land, situated upon a road, 4 miles from town, with 20 acres in cultivation, a frame house having 7 rooms, a cellar and two porches; also a frame barn, a carriage house, a large orchard of choice apple, pear and cherry trees. The land is chiefly in meadow, is rich and rolling.

A good Farm of 70 acres, situated 8 miles from town, near to a McAdams road, having 45 acres in cultivation, an orchard of choice fruit trees, a large house, a well, a large barn, a carriage house, a large orchard of choice apple, pear and peach trees, and a large orchard of apple, cherry and peach trees. The land is level, and the neighborhood healthy.

240 acres of very good land well located for cultivation, situated 24 miles from town, with 150 acres in culture, an orchard of 7 to 8 acres of choice grafted fruit trees, a frame house having 5 rooms in a cellar; also a commodious frame barn, two wells and many springs. The farm is in excellent condition.

A farm of 112 acres, situated upon a good road, 7 miles from town, having 40 acres in tillage, a frame house with 5 rooms, a cellar and two porches; also a frame barn, a well and a nursery of peach and apple trees; like-wise bearing cherry, peach, raspberry and currant trees. The land is rich, and generally rolling.

A fertile Farm of 180 acres, situated 18 miles from town, and 3 from the Ohio river, having 90 acres in cultivation, a stone house, 40 by 20 feet, with 4 rooms, a hall, and a cellar; also a two story stone house, 34 by 20 feet, and several tan pits; like-wise a saw-mill, a frame barn, 50 by 30 feet, and an orchard of 3 acres of choice apple, pear and peach trees. The land is rich, rolling, and well watered with springs and creeks.

A desirable Stock Farm of 420 acres, situated upon a turnpike, 28 miles from Lawrenceburg, and 50 from Cincinnati, with 150 acres in cultivation, (chiefly in meadow) orchard of 4 acres of grafted apple trees, a cider mill and a press; also a frame house having 4 rooms and a porch; like-wise a commodious frame barn; also a large log barn, and a new frame shop. The land is eligible situated for culture, and first rate property for hay. It is a fine grazing farm. It will be sold at a low rate upon favorable terms.

Very many other FARMS and COUNTRY SEATS for sale. Also, several small tracts without buildings, a few miles from the city.

Eligible HOUSES in various parts of the City for sale. Citizens and Emigrants are invited to call for full information, which will be given gratis. If by letter, postage paid. Capitalists can obtain 10 per cent interest upon mortgage, or the best personal security at long periods; or 6 per cent at 10 days sight.

Persons desirous of receiving money from England Wales Ireland, Scotland, and other parts of Europe, can have the cash paid them in Cincinnati, as soon as the payment is advised by the European Bankers of Exchange, Gold, and Bank of England notes bought and sold.

Farmers and Citizens wishing to dispose of their estates will incur no expense unless sales be effected.

The views of poor Emigrants without cost.

Apply to THOMAS EMERY, Estate and Money Agent, Fourth St. East of Main.

TO PURCHASERS OF REAL ESTATE.

A Farm of 80 acres, situated near to the McAdams road, six miles from town, with 60 acres in cultivation, a frame house having four rooms and a cellar; also a frame barn 56 by 40 feet, a log house and a garden with 15 to 20 fruit trees. The land is rolling, fertile, and well-watered with springs.

A fertile Farm of 63 acres, situated in a healthy region, eight miles from town, well calculated for a Country Seat, having 38 acres in cultivation, an excellent well finished brick house with 8 rooms, a hall, a cellar, and a porch; also a commodious one and a half story house; like-wise a carriage house, a brick smoke house, a two story log house, an excellent garden with every variety of choice shrubs, fruit trees and vines; also a paddock with many guinea, plum, peach and other fruit trees; and a large apple orch